/521 cont./

225 whale, be it large or small, will provide for many families, often entirely free.

### 3. Bird Hunting

223 825 The home of the Yamana swarms with land birds and sea birds. A gaily colored, feathered throng of many shapes animates the islands and rocks, inhabits the inlets and lagoons, and crosses the network of channels and the broad open spaces in flocks, in stormy and sunny weather. Their habits and characteristics are all well known to the Indian, but he pays them special heed only insofar as they have something to offer him or to tell him. Some of them furnish him with tasty meat and others with fresh eggs in spring; some yield him coveted feathers for body decoration, others their bones for necklaces; certain ones announce a change of weather or of seasons, and a few are heralds of interesting events in the distance, even in the future. All of them live in his belief [773] as the descendants of that stratum of population which inhabited this region long before the actual human beings of today.

As is to be expected, however, those species mean most to him which serve him as food. Not just any animal that comes within the Indian's range tempts his palate and his appetite. He has good judgment in distinguishing among them, and he consciously chooses what is good for him. He avails himself of only a few species for his own use from the plentiful feathered world of his homeland. What does not serve him and does not suit his wishes, he lightheartedly passes by. Everywhere he is selective and wisely calculating, not least in evaluating the types of birds available to him.

223 From the start he pays no attention to small animals; the meat they could give him would not be worth his efforts. Herons and owls mean nothing to him either, for they are all skin and bones. Sea birds and the easily available gull chasers, especially the diurnal predatory birds, such as condor and falcon, vulture and hawk, repulse him because they feed on carrion. There are other birds, however, that he would not want to be without in his selection of food; they are a welcome change in the dull taste of his monotonous meat diet. Primarily he has his eye on penguins and

/577 cont./

225 will hanker after a piece of breast, another for a piece from the neck; that one prefers the head or the tail fin, some like other parts better. This conversation arises from unrestrained exuberance, and everybody's joy over the rich gift finds expression in such spontaneous wishes. In reality, however, so many special demands could not be considered, nor is the distributor bound to comply with them. In spite of all the previous talk, everyone is content to take any piece that is given him, no matter whether he previously expressed himself in favor of some other one. A sense of honor and the pressure of self-discipline forbid loud demands for preferred parts or expressions of discontent over the piece offered. Since I am not in a position to check personally, I must trust the statements of the Indians that some layers of fat are tastier than others. In general, the entire belly covering is regarded as the best piece.

225 825 192 There are special names for the larger individual body areas of all species of whales. The lips are called kʌ́ɣwa. The adjacent lower part between the lower jaw bones is tɛ́laix; the upper part adjacent to the central head area is tʌ́ɣa. To the right and lest of this are the two cheeks, čʌ́tɛ̌ka. Next to the jaw region and lower neck, yʌ́ɣaɣɛ̌ɣ, is mʌ́maja, the generally furrowed breast and belly area. The areas below the cheeks are very rich in fat and are called ɛ̄pɛ́lɛ̄ɾ. On the back, tʌ́ɣa leads into tayɣɛ̌la, the anterior middle back which /578/ leads into hɛ̄ɾɛ̄šɛ̄n, or hɛ̄ɾɛ̄ɾɛ̄tɛ̌x. On either side of this are the ɛ́pi areas. Between these and the mʌ́maja region are the kʌ́yiya mʌ́maja, the actual sides of the whale above the vestigial dorsal fins; in front of these, toward the cheeks, are ɛ̄ntɛ̄ and ɛ̄nča. The entire rear tapering part is called yɛ̌šɛ̌pi and leads into the wide tail fin, lɛ́pur. The pair of front side fins is called kʌ́yiči. These areas are named with reference to the layer of fat because the fat is first removed from every stranded whale. An exception is made in the case of the finback, čiyix (Ziphius spec.?), the fat of which has a very laxative effect. When afterwards they want to refer to the meat exposed directly under the layer of fat, they choose, in part, names having the additional word ɛ̄kun (meat). Thus ɛ́pi ɛ̄kun is the meat in the abdominal covering. Moreover, there is a special designation for the meat of the entire upper and lower rump, namely, uskʌ́pur. The

/578 cont./
225 parts on the upper jaw extending far back are called yúsaxē
825 the tongue, lénki; and the entrails, héluwa. For the meat close
192 between and on the bones, they use the special designation hita (349).

349. BD:260 gives a different meaning: "Old and much wasted blubber as found on shores after being long in the sea" /cited in English/.

and for the fatty tissue in the body cavities, apéla. The great importance of a stranded whale for an entire group of people explains why there are special designations for the individual areas and parts of the body. Even the place where the whale has been tossed up has the special name ufkáriteka. The word tuufkáritekána, which BD:451 translates "to send (as God does) supplies of whale meat" /cited in English/, comes from the same root.

225 It is easy to see the reason for the distribution by different men. It is nothing more nor less than the best possible utilization of the entire huge animal. They do not want any part to be lost or soiled and trampled. Such devastation would be unavoidable if everybody could step up to the whale unhindered and ruthlessly cut out certain parts for himself. In an orderly distribution the special wishes of those present are considered as much as possible, everyone receives an abundance, and the entire supply is utilized. Hence everybody adheres strictly to the established custom and lets the respective distributors attend to their duty. In spite of
225 this, selfishness sometimes prevails, and a group will try to con-
578 ceal the stranding of a whale from others or, if the latter should come near, deny them access to the dead sea monster. Immediately a fight begins and the weaker side must give up the booty to the others (350). Such events /579/ are rare because a floating

350. Bridges (a):208 leaves no doubt about serious encounters over a stranded whale: "As long as a party can safely keep a whale to themselves they take care not to spread the news...But great fights sometimes happen through the selfishness of a party. For

/707 cont./

immediate surroundings are quiet; small children are either sent far away or held in check; finally, all the dogs are forcibly kept silent.

From the day of delivery both parents (p. 496) must very conscientiously observe the regulations familiar to everyone. The mother refrains from taking any kind of nourishment for the entire day. This assures her of a good delivery and the future well-being of her child. For his part, the man may neither fell heavy wooden beams in the forest nor kill large game animals. He may neither break open the bones of birds to get out the marrow nor crush the shell of the sea urchin. In case he should fell decayed trees or split wood, his child would have an open wound on its breast. If he should break apart the wing bones of birds, the arms of his child would also break; if he should pluck out the feathers of a bird, his child would soon lose its hair. On the day of the birth he is just as restricted in his choice of foods as his wife is on this and the following days. She is permitted to eat again on the day after her confinement, but at first by no means everything. She limits herself to fish, as well as ɛ̈ɔuf (Mytilus chilensis), kɛ̈ɔ̈in (Mytilus edulis), and amɨ̈ɨku (Fissurella). She is not permitted the many other lower sea animals. These mussels must come from "good" places [in the magical sense], in other words, not from places where one suspects the lakúma /water spirit/ might be nor from places where there are many cormorants and sea lions. It seems to me that the magical fear comes from the fact that these animals do not play a favorable role in mythology. A single species of duck, namely, Mareca sibilatrix, also belongs to the "good" things. On the other hand, the meat of the sea duck, dɛ̈ɨka (Tachyeres patachonicus), is forbidden. When things to be eaten are unavailable or not present in sufficient quantities, the yɛ̈kamuš /shaman/ must help out. Stretching out both hands, he gathers up the "bad and harmful," /708/ holds it for a moment on his open palms and, with a strong puff of air from his mouth and a softly uttered "ft," blows it away. Now the food has been freed of everything "dangerous" and is no longer harmful.

Directly after the child has been separated from its mother, the woman who has been the midwife goes out of the hut and sends a message to the father by anyone who is available that a boy or a

/722 cont./

856 properly, to become well-proportioned, and to develop a beautiful figure.

856 That this treatment of the infant is not without a tinge of
789 magic may be seen from the way it is concluded. As soon as a woman ceases the prolonged stroking, she clenches her hands and puts her fists to her mouth so that the bent thumbs touch her lips. With a sharp thrust she extends her arms out in front of her and opens her fists, palms forward and fingers outstretched. At the same time she expels her breath in a sharp "pf." as though the "unbeautiful, ugly, /723/ deformed" had been gathered together with the hands and were now being blown away. One sees this motion being practiced a great deal by the yékamuš.

856 In this wiša process every woman is, of course, extremely gentle and sensitive; she is careful not to press on the fontanel, ayyatáia, which she knows to be a very sensitive spot. For about three weeks the new infant must submit to this forming, stroking, and arranging of his little body. It causes him not the slightest discomfort.

• 855 The following belongs in the category of superstition. When
854 the sea duck, dóka (Tachyeres patachonicus), flies over the hut,
774 all the occupants are startled, for they are afraid that it will take away the "spirit," that is, the vitality of the children. The adults hasten to cover all the children with pieces of leather and, with outstretched arms, they grope through the air, as though they were trying to hold back "the spirit" of the children. As though they had gathered it up in the air, they draw their arms in again and make a proffering and throwing motion toward the children, at the same time uttering a long-drawn-out "ŭ." It is well known that immediately after birth the parents may not eat the meat of dóka, otherwise the life of the child is endangered (p. 503).

854 Most of the day the babies move freely or lie in the mother's lap. With their little hands they touch and grasp everything they can reach. They are given individual small stones and sticks, mussel shells, and little twigs that happen to lie nearby, but the Yamana do not make actual toys. Perhaps it is too much trouble for them always to take along and carefully store toys, no matter how simple. It seems to me that Yamana babies, compared to those on Isla Grande, are much quieter and much less inclined to play. True, the mother puts all kinds of small necklaces around her darling, in order to adorn

/736 cont./

851 utters a loud and long-drawn-out "pš" just once. This move-
171 ment is repeated several times with the child, and after a few days or weeks he is asked to do it again (175).

175. The candidates in the men's ceremony of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 1019) are given almost the same treatment, and likewise to make them grow quickly.

156 There is another custom that has the same purpose. An adult, with the tips of his thumb and index finger, picks up the [illegible] larva, [illegible], of a large capricorn beetle grubbing in a decayed tree trunk and squeezes it gently. The larva, as though in defense, opens the two parts of its upper jaw, which have very sharp points. With these the person scratches a vertical line on the child's chest, slightly outside the nipples, and another line from the corners of the mouth to the ear lobes. This is the custom among the western Yamana. In the east they merely scratch a pair of lines on the back, on either side of the spinal column. This procedure is repeated often on the same child, but without any definite arrangement.

I was told that children endure teething quietly and with resignation. The parents pay little attention to this process, although they are pleased that the child has reached this tangible stage in his development. Later when the permanent teeth are pushing through and the first baby tooth is loose, they send the child to the beach where he must pull out the loose tooth with his own hand and toss it in a wide arc into the sea. At the same time he must visualize the short-nosed dolphin (Lagenorhynchus F.) and repeat in a low voice:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| [illegible], | tun | hāja | tāgu |
| Dolphin, | tooth | me | give. |

He also turns to pēr (Patella) and yekēr (Chiton, snail) (176)

176. It is clearly recognizable that the allusion is to the rows of teeth in the jaws of dolphins, to the toothlike edge of the Patella shells, and to the hair-soft, tufted [illegible] of most Chiton species.

/846 cont./

X881 781 matter whether he is occupied only with himself for two or five hours before the start of the ceremony, for he does not miss anything. Even during the final work on the Great Hut one can observe the deep seriousness and thoughtfulness written on the faces of the participants who do not converse with one another or act distracted. They feel, and they do not conceal their innermost feelings, that something important is imminent and they must also prepare themselves spiritually. Each participant regards the ξιέχαιν rite as an extraordinary personal experience.

On March 3, 1922, Santiago announced shortly before noon that the ceremony would begin in the evening. A few older persons who had put the finishing touches on the Great Hut simply remained seated there and gave themselves up to their thoughts. Around two o'clock in the afternoon their number had increased to seven. Koppers (a):49 stepped in for a few minutes at this time and quietly asked one of those present why they had come so early since the celebration was not beginning until toward evening. The answer he received was: "Certainly, but one can't begin such a beautiful festival just like that; one has to be in the mood, and we are here to prepare ourselves for that!" I observed the same conduct two years before. The older people wish above all to prepare themselves spiritually for this celebration by several hours of concentration.

X881 292 The overseer is always among the first arrivals; the leader, too, comes in good time. Their mood has a decisive influence on the other people. Meanwhile everyone makes his forehead decoration. This is nothing more than a piece of skin, two to four fingers wide and about 30 centimeters long. It is cut out of the [925] peritoneum of the small albatross, dášalux (Diomedea melanophrys), or of the male Molina goose, ɬékus (Chloëphaga hybrida). The large feathers are plucked out and the down feathers fluffed up somewhat so that they appear abundant. Of either end of this strip of skin the Yamana knot a short tendon. Every participant wears this hapaxél as a headband. If he leaves the Great Hut, he must take it off. Sometimes this strip of skin is given a triangular shape, so that a small point appears in the middle of the forehead, but it is not nearly as wide as the kóčel of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 215).

/869 cont./
shout and make a great fuss about it; sometime he will realize his mistake.

"Do not cease really loving your husband and willingly doing all kinds of work for him: then he will like you, too, and also take good care of you.

"If the family [from which you come] is large and your brothers /870/ and uncles are very much esteemed by people because they are capable, do not preen yourself about it and do not unduly boast about it, for others would misconstrue this.

"If you want to live peaceably and happily with your husband, do not constantly quarrel with him. Be quiet if he has an opinion that differs from yours; later he will probably realize his mistake.

"Watch out for Watauinĕ́jwa /the supreme being/, never forget about him. If you are dull and slow and lazily neglect your work, if you do not get up betimes in the morning, he will look at you; then it will soon be over with you (290). And do not

290. A favorite saying which we shall mention below expresses the same thing: "The Supreme Being will punishingly cast his eye on you and destine you to a premature death." In a later section such sayings will be more specifically explained.

forget what the uŭwā́ala often said in the morning here in the čičxaus hut when they got up early and stepped out: 'hā́ia yā́rum uŭwā́ala [kī́pa] hā́i, wā́s (291)!' That is what akačix (292) did also.

291. This means: "Come on, we are now candidates, come on!"

292. Turdus magellanicus, the Magellanic thrush. The reference to the thrush has the following meaning. Once upon a time this bird was also a candidate in the youth initiation where it learned to get up early every morning. It has practiced this good habit so faithfully that on all subsequent occasions up to the

/956 cont./

that the two trends of thought are incompatible. During the course of the celebration the story of "hamanĭgulum wĭtuwa" is told to the ulwĭala, and it was on this occasion that I, too, learned it.

In the eastern corner of the Bay of Ushuaia there were, once upon a time, several families camping. They heard that in the west there was a stranded whale. Three men got into a canoe. Two of them were yĕkamuš, the other was not. The former two were Hĕlpul (366) and Yo'okalĭa (367). The three men rowed off

366. Taeniptera pyrope, a small sparrow of the Tyrannidae family. As a mythological personality it also plays an important role in other stories.

367. Milvago chimango, the hawk.

in a westerly direction. Their canoe was extraordinarily swift. Quickly it glided past Puerto Olla (368). Their canoe kept going

368. This small harbor is exactly opposite Punta Divide on the north shore, hence on the boundary line between the central and western Yamana groups.

farther and farther /957/ and came to Hapanandĭl (369). The

369. The reference is to the channels west of the Darwin Sound as far as the ultimate projection of Brecknock Peninsula. The central and eastern Yamana speak of the inhabitants of this outlying district roughly as Halakwulup.

Halakwulup, a dangerous, bad people, live here. The three Yamana saw the huts of this people here, left their canoe, and climbed ashore. The two yĕkamuš were invited into the same hut, the third man was called to another hut (370). When the two

370. It was the deliberate intention of these

/972 cont./

b. The Right of Possession

421 The Yamana recognize actual possessions as personal property, aside from a few common possessions. Institutions and principles pointing to pure communism are completely absent. They are familiar with several titles for the right of possession, which we must now discuss, after having described the actual forms of property. In this respect, too, our Yamana agree almost completely with the neighboring Selk'nam (Vol. I, 434). The recog- [171] nized legal titles are as simple and clear as the forms of the possessions of this tribal society.

1. Right of the Supreme Being as Creator

421 TTo Later on we shall speak of the religious convictions of the Yamana, which culminate in the recognition of a Supreme Being. Common names applied to this being are Watayinéjwa, "the /973/ ancient one," and Hidáhyan, "my father." He is lord over all visible things and their supreme owner. The compound term Watayinéjwa-sír[1], which is often used, evidently means: the sír[1], or thing in the sense of property, of Watayinéjwa (386). Practically

386. BD:379 interprets this word with: "tools, implements, vessels, toys, goods, property, things in general" /cited in English/.

everything visible and tangible, without reservation, is regarded by our Fuegians as Watayinéjwa-sír[1]; therefore the Supreme Being is the owner of visible creation.

421 TTo ●925 Among all that has been created, the necessary daily food is the most important for our Indians. Heading the list are the game animals hunted by the man and the many lower animals which the woman gathers. Although the individual exerts himself personally for these, it is nevertheless as though he first had to ask permission from Watayinéjwa for each piece, hence his repeated request in actual prayers to the Supreme Being for the things he needs for his subsistence. In this procedure there is a faint hint that Watayinéjwa will benevolently give each human being some of that which he

/973 cont./
421 alone has the right to distribute. The Yamana accepts the slain
825 animal and every other thing as a gift voluntarily bestowed by the
776 Supreme Being; consequently he does not fail to thank his deity expressly for this now and then.

The Yamana have the same idea in mind when they say that everyone should kill and gather only as many animals as are needed for the moment. Beyond that it is punishable to destroy wantonly and aimlessly a number of animals which are not used in the household and which finally putrify. With this restriction they first of all want to check senseless waste of useful animals, but they do not overlook the fact that in such action there is also a violation of the primary property right which belongs only to Watauinéiwa. It is said that he voluntarily lets each individual Yamana have exactly as much as he needs for subsistence, and he punishes a person who, over and above that, wantonly destroys something of his.

If there is a ceremony for the dead or if, on another occasion, someone gives expression to his grief, he sometimes, in self-justification, lets the Supreme Being know that all his life long he has never illicitly, that is, through misuse, laid violent hands on animals which were made available to him for his own subsistence. If anyone has really done wrong in fits of anger and has given vent to his rage by unjustifiable destruction of many animals, he is soon remorseful and begs sincerely for the forgiveness of Watauinéiwa because /974/ of the harm he inflicted upon him. Sometimes an excited person will threaten Watauinéiwa with specific words, thus wishing to avenge himself for some misfortune, saying that he is going to slay names of his living animals in order to harm him greatly. In these condemnations the deity is clearly set forth as the owner of available material goods, among which animals are regarded as primary.

The Yamana do not give a definite reason why the Supreme Being has the legal title to all creation, primarily all animals. Nevertheless, this idea lives very clearly and definitely within them and serves as a guide for their actions. We shall speak of supplementary details in our description of their form of religion.

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674 "Since our coming here in 1871, we enumerated with the natives twenty-two murders, or deaths from violence amongst the Yahgans" /cited in English/. Hyades (e):721 regards this figure as low: "it means an average of less than two violent deaths per year, and this in a country where each one redresses wrongs and exacts justice for himself" /translated from French/. He (q:375) believes that one reason for this low figure is a deeply rooted conviction of the Indians "in regarding human life as sacred" /translated from French/. Bridges later only very rarely mentioned a murder (410). All this,

> 410. Without further explanation he (MM:XVIII, 184; 1884) writes, for example: "Here [near Ushuaia] I found the native John Willis, who killed his wife some two years ago" /cited in English/.

however, does not make me change my own opinion that murder occurred at least twice as often as Bridges and Hyades say. I am relying on the dependable reports of the Lawrence brothers and aged Indians. We must keep in mind the irascible nature of our Yamana and the many occasions for this deed, as a result of which they had to take the law into their own hands.

266 It would be unthinkable to imagine that they would murder a person out of cannibalistic intentions. There is no convincing proof of anthropophagy; reliable informants emphatically deny this custom, and the Lawrence brothers never heard of it, to say nothing of never having observed it. Instances of it, beginning with the L'Hermite fleet (p. 51 /untranslated/) which is referred to for affirmation, have never been absolutely settled. Bridges (i):14 decidedly opposes this false accusation, since for all of them "is human life a very sacred thing and for this reason all the relations of the murdered person were in honour bound to avenge his death" /cited in English/. The Yamana even detest animals that gnaw at human corpses, such as foxes, rats, and vultures. They do not even take water from brooks where there are many rats, and they give as their reason: "Animals that devour human flesh drink of this water!" If they see a dog come up to a corpse and start devouring it, or even try to dig out a body, they beat it on the spot, even

/994 cont./

627 that makes a stealthy act seem advisable to a person. This is a favorite procedure of the yékamuš. The following method has proved successful. A person who wishes to do away with his opponent inconspicuously will discuss his plan with two or three trusted friends. One day they invite the opponent in the most unobtrusive way possible to accompany them on a hunt for young or full-grown cormorants. The other may not and will not refuse the invitation because of the compulsory rules of social intercourse. Unsuspecting, he lets himself be tied to a rope at the top of the steep rock wall and slides down (p. 235). At the proper moment and without any kind of signal, his adversaries cut the rope at the top, and he plunges down and breaks his neck. These malefactors afterwards tell other people that the man, due to his own carelessness, was killed on the cormorant hunt. Spears: 68 mentions this stealthy procedure, as Outes (g):58 did earlier, and is right in calling it "a favorite way of killing an enemy" /cited in English/; this method, however, is rarely used.

278 The plant kingdom offers not a single efficacious poison,
• 825 but the blubber of the grampus ẽpájači (Orca magellanica), a
674 pilot fish of the large cetaceans (p. 37 /untranslated/), is regarded as poisonous. I was assured, confidentially, that this blubber had been given now and then, its efficaciousness having been discovered long ago. Masemikens told me the following story which is widespread. Once in the west several people found a dead ẽpájači lying on the beach. /995/ Its meat and fat were still fresh, so some of them ate some of it. Soon afterward these people died. Once Hawaten also came to this place. He was a crafty man. Before he ate, he wanted to find out whether this fat caused death. Unobtrusively he gave a man a small piece of it. The man immediately died. Thereupon he said to himself: "Good, that serves my purpose!" He took a large piece of fat from the ẽpájači, cut it into small pieces, and filled a pouch made of the stomach of a šékuš (Chloëphaga hybrida). Then he returned to the east. If he wanted to kill someone, he stealthily stuck a small piece of the fat from the ẽpájači into the person's food. He did this several times and a number of men died. Hawaten was quite generally hated and avoided because of his malevolent disposition. -- Thus it was through him that the actual or alleged strength of this poison became known.

/1051 cont./

776 113 asked myself and also other men, above all, the capable yékamuĭ and the most experienced old men, how that took place. No one knew the answer as to how human beings actually originated and where they came from. So to this day I do not know. I have often and persistently searched and tried to answer this question. At that time Tăruwalēm burned up the whole world and all the animals. And this I can't understand either, how afterwards everything was put in order again, how the huge fire was put out, and how he again restored plants and animals to this land. All this we do not know. In former years I often asked the experienced old people about this." A few days later, I sat in a circle of several old men, as was my custom, and quite spontaneously the conversation again drifted to these things. Richard repeated: "We really don't know exactly how everything came about at that time. Of course Watayinĕiwa already existed in the very old days, for heaven was already here above the earth, there where the clouds are and where Watayinĕiwa also stays. Before Lēm [sun] and Hăməxa [moon] and Akăinix [rainbow] wandered here on earth like human beings, Watayinĕiwa was already here, for heaven existed before all of them. At that time women ruled. We do not know how and from where children came at that time, for none of the women who then ruled the men slept with their husbands and cohabited with them in order to conceive children. None of us can say where children came from in those days. It is only since the great /1052/ revolution that women are subordinate to the will of men. It was back in the time when the great fur seal tĕpĕ-a (Arctocephalus australis) discovered how man and woman should unite, she underneath and he on top of her; that gives them pleasure. Since then they have done it that way to this day. When husband and wife unite in this way, then children follow. So we know where our children come from now. Where they came from before that, no one can explain. We know equally as little about where Lēm and Hanuxa and the stars come from, which at that time lived on earth just like human beings. When they [the ones mentioned] and sĕf [heaven], too, were here, Watayinĕiwa was also here, and he was here even long before that." Thus, no Yamana can explain definitely and clearly how the visible world originated. Nevertheless it is noteworthy that a deeply thoughtful and meditative man like Mafemikens felt this gap and tried to fill it.

[825 842 831]

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TB2 539 These are the words of a man who felt he was near death because Wataʉinéʉwa cast his eye upon him. Because this man recovered, /1060/ he joyfully gives thanks for having escaped the threatening misfortune. -- BD:392 gives talagõnatapõna, "to look fixedly, gaze, be gazing intently" /cited in English/.

(10) Annu, hipéj mãrnérna, alálʼ hipéi
Now then, we new summer, thank; for us

kutakétumʃéla tupʃan.
is winter past.

TB2 539 •825 As soon as the first signs of approaching spring appear, after the long months of winter with its abundant snow, everyone breathes more freely and joyfully expresses his feelings of renewed zest for life with these words. -- Compare tupʃana in BD:556.

(11) Hãtépan hitʃéi hakuʃíuʃ.
I myself saw sea anemones.

More precisely this means: I was the first to see with my own eyes the sea anemone. -- According to BD:260, hãtépan is "I only, I by myself" /cited in English/; according to BD:270, hãtélum, "the red sea anemones" /cited in English/. The small scarlet sea anemones, also called sea roses (Actiniaria), can be found all the year round; nevertheless it is always an occasion for great rejoicing when, in waning winter, one discovers the unusually bright-colored colonies of these small animals. They are greeted as harbingers of spring which everyone hopes to live through. The Yamana thank Wataʉinéʉwa with the above prayer formula for this favorable prospect. In their exuberance the people dance and hop about, even in the fragile canoe, regardless of the great danger of treading a hole in it and smashing it. The person who first sees a bright-colored sea anemone behaves very boisterously.

TB2 539 (12) Amãtéʃʃa, hipéj mãrnérna, alálʼ;
Now then, us new summer, thank;

amãtéʃʃa, hipéi mãrnérna.
now then, us new summer.

/1096 cont./

774 761 spirit 'from nature" /cited in English/. The Yamana does not express himself that way. Spencer adds, correctly: "Some imagine they see the spirits. Informant knows nothing of spirits' life except that they always remain" /cited in English/.

expressions also reveal this conception. For example, grieving parents say: "Watagindjwe let my child die, the one he gave me," but they do not express themselves in more detail about the whole process.

774 805 Once I wanted to know whether animals also had their khyátf. Apparently this thought had never occurred to them, for they shook their heads in denial. Then I said to them: "Animals are certainly clever, especially the dog. He understands the calls and gestures of his master, he helps in hunting and is faithful. How can that be?" They replied: "We care for the dog as for a child. He helps us a great deal. We never leave him behind all by himself in a deserted place, for if he were cut off from us we would always and everywhere be aware of the barking and howling of such an abandoned dog. Perhaps the dog does have a khyátf of his own, but he is the only one, other animals do not have it." Thus, the Yamana do not in so many words attribute a khyátf like that of the human soul to animals.

[771] 774 Their views are essentially like those of the neighboring Selk'nam about their khéjpi (Vol. I, 537); even the names that the two tribes give to the human soul and to the spirit-being are almost the same.

### b. Belief in a Future Life

775 Despite the contrary assertion of a few travelers who need not be taken seriously (36), the Yamana are, without exception,

36. Darwin (4):247 writes: "Captain Fitz Roy could never find out whether the Fuegians have any definite belief in a future life. They bury their dead sometimes in caves and

/1147 cont./

773 "His wife was also very beautiful. No one knows her name.
825 Lɛ̃m had several beautiful daughters, namely, tfkaĺa (Larus
821 belcheri), wɛ̃mar-kipa (Larus glaucodes), the sea duck wiyen (Anas cristata), the gull kiwɛ̃gu (Larus dominicanus), the Magellanic goose kimpa (Chloephaga picta /upland goose/), the duck wipatux (Querquedula cyanoptera), as well as the she-fox čilawɛ̃jakipa (Canis magellanicus) and the rat wɛ̃ɛ̃na. The last two secretly dragged off the meat that their father brought home from the hunt; they stole it from him regularly. They are doing it [stealing] to this day. Lɛ̃m also had other daughters, as well as several sons. One of them is Yɛ̃xalɛ̃m who constantly follows his father.

773 "Lɛ̃m was diligent and hard-working, good and always merry,
821 friendly toward everyone. He was on the best of terms with all the men. He set a fine example of an active, good-natured human being for everyone. In this respect [that is, in his whole character] nothing has changed to this day. Back in the time of the great upheaval in Yɛ̃jaaĺɛ̃ga he helped the men considerably in gaining control of the kina of the women. After that upheaval was over, he went up to the canopy of heaven. From there he is still proving himself benevolent and willing to help human beings; he bestows ample warmth and light upon everyone. All men are obviously proud of him, for he uncovered the kina secret of the women and thus freed the men from their dependence upon the women.

"Actually there is still another world. That is why Lɛ̃m leaves the region of the Yamana every evening and betakes himself there. In that other world he also shines and bestows abundant warmth. The next morning he comes back to us once more. In this way he helps the people both here and there."

The portrayal as such shows clearly enough how gratefully /1148/ the Yamana regard the day star. Obviously this favorable attitude goes back to the feeling of well-being which sunshine induces in the Yamana, who are often shaken by frosty winds and severe weather. The planet Venus was pointed out to me as Yɛ̃xalɛ̃m, son of Lɛ̃m, for "this son invariably follows close behind his father, but is not as strong as the latter." This refers to the considerably weaker luminosity of Venus as compared to the

/1130 cont./

765 302 Almost all participants prefer the design which indicates the cause of death of the one who is especially mourned. Actually the visitors exert a good deal of effort and care to show how honestly and sincerely they are participating in the event. /Fig. 89 appears here./ Definite pressure is put upon those present when a murder has been committed; they express this in their facial painting, for everything serves the

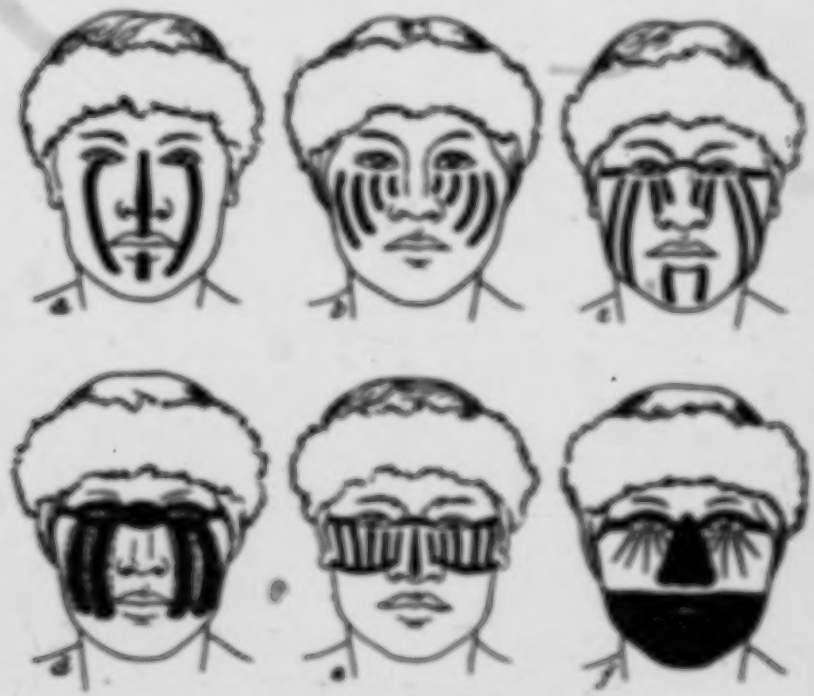

Fig. 89. Patterns of Painting for Mourning.

purpose of intimidating the culprit and his circle of kinsmen. In this case they prefer the following design: one side of the face is uniformly black; on the other side are alternating vertical rows of red and white dots placed close together.

765 302/ 625 The people are busy for some time in preparing their facial painting; they also wind the hapakil around their foreheads. This decoration, also called hapaxil, is a rather large triangular piece

1: Gamble--1084 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 1091 Tahgan 1098

/1130 cont./
of skin with white down-feathers taken from the male Hutimas grave (Chloephaga hybrida /Kelp goose/). The people obtain this forehead decoration when these geese are nesting, during this time /1131/ they are lean and the thin skin does not have the abundance for that is present at other times. /Fig. 90 appears here./ A hapakil is like the hikel of the Selk'nam (Vol. 1, 211) in size and shape. In recent times not all the adults make an effort to obtain this ornament which is actually seldom used. Instead, at a general funeral ceremony, they use the narrow band of skin with down, also called hapakil, which they always have available and frequently use.

The club is part of the equipment of those who take part in the so-called fight of the yamalaiemoina. It is justifiably regarded as an ornamental club. No one would be permitted to come with a plain stick that he has just picked up or one used to kill a sea lion. This club is used for no other purpose. It is carefully carved out of a flawless small trunk, is about 160 to 190 centimeters long, has an angular or rounded surface and gently tapers from one end to the other (Fig. 90). It is regularly painted white, or red if one is commemorating a murder. Actually the women should also provide themselves with a club, but sometimes they do not have it and make do with an ordinary paddle which they paint. At the dances in the hut everyone uses the short dance-staff carried during the kilang ceremony, for it obviously helps to emphasize the rhythmic movements of the body.

The long-continued singing and lamenting, sighing, and groaning are

Fig. 90. Ornamental Club.

/1160 cont./

173 So the two women changed their course and turned toward the hut. On the way Idlouaiga kept trying to hold back the other woman.

While the two women were covering the long distance home, the sea lion died there on the stone where the two Tyaing had mortally wounded him with their large harpoon. They immediately began cutting up the large animal and laid a few pieces on a fire out there in order to roast them. Later they sat down and consumed those pieces and found them superb. They dragged other large pieces to the hut and put them on the fire there in order to roast them. They wanted to eat again soon, for this roasted meat tasted very good to them.

When they set out to kill the mighty animal, the two Tyaing had left the little one alone in the hut. As soon as the boy realized that he was alone in the hut he crept out, he sat down on the sand beside the hut and began to play. The two Tyaing saw him. One of them immediately brought the boy some meat and he ate it with great relish, for this roast was perfectly fresh meat. Scarcely had he consumed the big piece when he demanded a second. Then the Tyaing gave him a piece of roasted fat and that, too, tasted very good to him.

/1161/ At that moment the two women returned. They first came across the boy who was sitting on the sand near the hut and considerably eating a piece of perfectly fresh meat. When his mother saw the fresh meat in his hands, a dreadful foreboding made her tremble; she suddenly realized that the boy was eating the meat of his own father! She collapsed, grief-stricken. Soon she was seized with a terrible rage. She took a large sea urchin out of the little basket she was carrying and threw it at the head of the boy with all her might. The boy immediately turned into a fish, but the barbs of the sea urchin clung to his head. That is

• [P45] the ehoa (104).

104. A porcupine fish common in these waters. The Tasmans do not eat it "because it was formerly a boy."

Full of sorrow and distress the wife of the sea lion entered the hut. She became terribly alarmed when she saw the many

/1300 cont./

B1 /translated from French/. Cooper:159, on the basis of the few data available to him at the time, surmised correctly: "Superstitions exist, but apparently in moderate number only" /cited in English/. Even now this judgment need not be changed.

/1301/

a. Superstitions Related to the Animal Kingdom

B5 The Fuegian is very dependent on the animals of his homeland. Hence it is not strange that they play a dominant role in his superstitious ideas.

B5 If at night a dog howls miserably for any length of time, its master interprets it as presaging all kinds of dire prospects for himself or for a proposed undertaking, such as a hunt, a journey, and important work. If all the dogs howl in the few huts that form a camp, an epidemic or at least serious illness among many persons is to be expected. If the howling of many dogs has lasted for some time, all the people come out of their huts and hurl everything at hand toward heaven, things such as spoons and pieces of leather, tools and weapons, and preferably hot ashes and glowing logs. Meanwhile no one, with the exception of half-grown children, may stay in bed or rest. Everyone must be up and about until dawn. All night long everyone is very excited and behaves wildly. They wave their arms about in extreme agitation, they thrust their arms forward and upward with hands outspread and cry from constricted throats tgtetg... All this is supposed to ward off the menacing illness.

When people are sitting out in the open in front of their huts, it sometimes happens that a dog comes crawling up to a person, dragging himself along the ground, stretched out on all fours, and pushing himself forward on his belly. They interpret this to mean that the person himself or someone among his intimate family will soon die.

B5 In contrast to the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 707), our Yamana are neither friendly to the fox now kindly disposed toward it, because it preys on human carcasses. The following story is told. When

/1301 cont./

825 the first Argentinian ships came to Ushuaia [in the '80's], ravaging diseases broke out (p. 300 /untranslated/). Practically all the Indians settled there lay around on the beach and in their huts, unable to help themselves. Many of them died. Sickness spread to the north shore of Navarino Island, and there, too, the beach was soon strewn with corpses. The many sick people saw the foxes coming out of the forest and gnawing at the corpses, /1302/ but no one was able to ward them off and chase them away. A woman already near death had her little son beside her, but he could not help her. One of the foxes even dared to start devouring this woman, although she was still alive. The little son threw a knife at the fox, whereupon it stopped. She died soon afterward, and the boy immediately started three signal fires. Soon a canoe arrived and took him aboard. Scarcely had the canoe left the shore when the fox again came up to the corpse of the woman and started devouring it.

The Yamana find the apawáta, the bat, almost disgusting because of its resemblance to the rat, wēsána (p. 323). If it flies past the huts the people feel sick; they all remain silent until it has flown off again. Everyone turns his eyes away in loathing. Bridges (i):7 also confirms this: "There is a small Bat, loathed by the natives on account of its compound nature" /cited in English/. (Cf. Vol. I, 707.)

The Yamana regard the whale along with the many ever-present fish accompanying it (p. 37 /untranslated/) as a large family. They are particularly alert for the restless, raging aš̄óula, the smaller whale (Pseudorca crassidens /the "false killer" whale/), and the ēpšiači (Orcinus orca /the killer whale/). Our Indians are afraid of both. Bridges (a):208 thinks differently: The whales are killed "by swordfish, which they consequently esteem sacred" /cited in English/. On October 9, 1871, Lewis reported a "small whale, which ran ashore in the inlet. I hastened out, and heard a continuous thumping on the water, which Lucca informed me was a swordfish; he also observed, that if the dog barked, he [the swordfish] would be frightened and take the whale away. At early dawn we descended, and found the whale, minus any appearance of having been molested by a swordfish" /cited in English/ (MM:IV, 34;1872).

/1302 cont./

825 Our Yamana are no less superstitious about birds. Some among the great numbers of them prove to be helpful. They announce things that are important to human beings and warn them. The sea duck deśka (Tachyeres patachonicus) is at times even included in food taboos (p. 503). The mighty condor weśiyáu (Cathartes aura) is said to lead the dance of the birds. The condor can be dangerous to little children, which is why a mother may never leave her infant unattended. It is said that one day a small child at play crept out of the hut and down to the beach. The child's mother sat at her work in the hut and did not notice it. A condor flew down from above and seized the child with its strong talons, dragging it to the nearest mountain. After a while the mother stepped out of her hut and looked for the child. In vain she searched all the other huts, and no one could give her any information. Everybody helped her look, but they did not find the child. The next day they walked around the whole region, but without success. Nevertheless the mother and her relatives kept on searching. Finally, on the peak of the nearby /1303/ mountain they found the remains of the child, its head and a few bones. It happened that the face was not mutilated and the mother recognized her child. The condor had dragged it off and devoured it because it had been sitting unattended on the beach. The mother wept bitterly and returned to her hut.

825 821 787 If a hawk, yo'okalía (Milvago chimango), acts unusually happy and flies about gaily, good weather is on the way. Anyone who is obliged to take a long journey starts out early when he sees this sign; beautiful weather will accompany him. When yo'okalía screams complainingly at night, snow and cold weather are in the offing; both annoy the bird.

825 787 Quite generally the light-colored horned owl, síta (Nyctalops accipitrinus), is very carefully watched. If it persistently and anxiously flies around one or more huts standing close together, its cry means that someone in the neighborhood has died. If it lands on a hut, even for a few moments, it indicates that one of the inmates will soon die. When this síta on its nocturnal flights utters the prolonged, intermittent cry kĭt, kĭt, kĭt... which sounds as though drops of blood were splashing on the

/1303 cont./

825 787 ground, it is an omen of murder and a person from the immediate vicinity will be the victim. If someone approaches a small group of men or lands near a few huts and notices a sítu circling around the huts during the day, he recognizes this as a definite warning that these people are hostile to him and have evil intentions, are perhaps even planning to murder him. Hence he quietly slips away that very night and goes far enough so that none of the men can follow him. If in the next few days a horned owl should again appear in his vicinity or circle around him, he concludes that the men are on his trail. Without delay he hurries off to his own home. He is safe in the circle of his relatives.

825 824 The Yamana must show due respect for the small finch héspul (Taenioptera pyrope). Anyone who annoys it and throws stones at it must be prepared for very bad weather. Out of vengefulness and an injured sense of honor, it causes bad storms and heavy rains.

825 787 A person who hears the cry of the gray night heron túwux (Nycticorax obscurus), rejoices, for this bird tells him that a canoe with friendly visitors will soon come. They usually arrive the very next day and from exactly the same direction that the call of this heron came from or the direction from which the bird flew when it came. Even today the túwux is venerated everywhere.

825 821 The large petrels, especially the albatross, which rise up over the waves far out on the high seas and describe large circles in the air, announce to the people that they must be prepared for rough seas and foul weather.

825 777 /1304/ It is a universal custom for a hunter who has bagged a Molinas goose lékuš (Chloephaga hybrida /kelp goose/) to break both its legs immediately; otherwise he will have no future luck at hunting. If the hunter has a newborn child at home, he may not break the legs of this goose with his own hands if he wishes to keep his child from harm (p. 505).

825 788 A solitary sea duck, délka (Tachyeres patachonicus), flying over a hut fills all the inmates with fear and trembling. They are afraid that this délka will take with it the késpif of the children present. They quickly throw large pieces of skin over each baby and cover them well. Others will repeatedly stretch their arms out in front of them, palms forward, at the same time

/1304 cont./

825 [788] uttering a loud, hissing ĺ sound. The purpose of the latter is to weaken the baleful effect of the sea duck and hold in the kinpif of the children. Immediately after confinement the mother and her husband may not eat the meat of the ońka (p. 505). The [263] parents are advised to abstain from it until their child enters the second year of life. From then on it is completely out of danger, whereas before that it might possibly die if its parents should often eat the meat of the sea duck.

When the rust-colored spectacled ibis, lęxuwa (Theristicus melanopis), flies over the heads of mature girls, they cross their arms and press them against their breasts to hide them. If they [264] did not do this, lęxuwa would pull their breasts far down, this is a beauty flaw of which they complain a great deal. This lęxuwa is also known as a sensitive woman who anxiously guards her honor.

I did not learn that the Yamana are superstitiously afraid of any kind of insects, but Bridges (a):212 writes: "Many insects are also much dreaded, from a belief that they enter the ear, and work their way into the body, and thus kill those they enter" /cited in English/. Dabbene (b):204 says the same thing. Unfortunately, these references are too general.

Sometimes an unusually large cap-shaped shell (Fissurella) clings to a rock along the coast, below the lowest water level. It is regarded as the mistress of that region. All the women who are gathering marine animals in its vicinity must remain silent [265] and respectful. If they do not do this, the pįjakakipa, as it is called, causes strong eddies. The word pįjaka is not a proper name, but a general term (compare BD:370); here it has its special meaning. The little hole in the flat shell is "the eye with which pįjakakipa sees everything that happens around it."

825 765 If a father has lost a son in death, he abandons the male animals that he kills or he throws them into the water. If a daughter has died, he does not touch the female animals that he catches. He does this for several weeks after the death of his child to express his grief over the loss and to avenge himself, as it were, on Watagindiwa.

/1340 cont./

The two girls who betrayed the secret remained behind in the lagoon on the advice of Lêm. They turned into ducks and are very timid.

Then Lêm angrily hoisted his guanaco on his shoulders once more and turned toward the camp. On the way he considered how he should avenge himself on the women. When he arrived in front of his hut, he threw down the guanaco and said angrily: "So that is why I provide plenty of game every day, so that my daughters can make fun of me and deceive all us men! They take our meat away from us as though it were for Tênuwa, but they themselves consume it in the Kina hut!" All the women who were standing near his hut listened astonished and asked themselves: "What has happened? What is Lêm talking about? Why is he so angry?"

Têkur Ëlipa (288) happened to be sitting nearby and was

288. A type of sparrow with yellow feathers, which is now rare in that region.

working on a harpoon point. She heard the excited words of Lêm and said to herself: "Somebody must have told him about the women! Perhaps he overheard the girls who went to the lagoon to bathe." She blushed with shame, for she suspected that the deception by the women had been revealed. Then she considered: "How could I manage to make Lêm be quiet about it and say nothing so that the other men will not discover anything. This woman was sitting in the front of a hut where many men were lying covered up, but still awake. She alone was sitting up; she after all, did not have to crawl under the covers (289). So when

289. During the Kalempaxa performance the people in the camp are supposed to assemble in one dwelling if possible and here await the visit of this spirit. This performance has already been described on p. 1227.

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/1340 cont./

Lēm entered the hut, the woman in a roundabout way tried to hush up everything and keep him from talking; she said to him: "We women have just given the men here a /1341/ terrible scare! We all came into the hut here and the men immediately crept under the covers, because they believed that we were Kalampáĭa." She said this to confuse Lēm and divert him, so that he would not talk and the men would not find out anything.

She then ran back to the Kina hut and told the women: "Lēm knows everything that is going on here!" All the women were very much upset by these words. They got up, yelled very loudly, painted themselves, put on their masks, and went back to the hut where all the men were assembled. They wanted to terrify them more than ever now. This time, however, a few of the men secretly peeked out from under the skins with which they were covered. They said to themselves: "This time we shall not let ourselves be frightened, but shall look closely to see whether these are really our wives who are coming here!" They kept their hands over their eyes, but stealthily peeked between their fingers. While the women were dancing and yelling with their mouths close to the ears of the men, the men watched closely but remained motionless. When the weary women departed after the long dance, the men uncovered themselves and said to one another: "That [person] was my daughter. -- That was your wife. -- That was my wife, I recognized her. So that was not Kalampáĭa, but our wives!"

Thus the fraud was exposed. Lēm told the men in detail what he had seen and heard at the lagoon. Now the men wanted to make sure by means of further information. They considered what was to be done. They immediately sent off the swiftest one among them to run after the women. He ran behind them and dipped into the Great Hut. The women were sitting around the fire, and each woman had her mask leaning against the hut wall behind her. The little man clearly recognized the face of each woman. His name was Šalalakína; today he is a small bird (290).

290. This timid, swift bird is found in swampy places; its feathers are chocolate-brown, and it has a sweet voice. BD:152 also mentions it.

/1341 cont./

He slipped into the Great Hut and went around the circle behind the squatting women, tipping over all the masks. He escaped on the side opposite the wide entrance. The women suspected that a swift-footed man must have run through the hut, for how else could all their masks have fallen over! They gnashed their teeth and yelled loudly in shame and anger. Meanwhile little Šalalakína told the men: "I crept into the hut, quickly ran from one side to the other and tipped over all the masks. But I did not see Tánuwa. Only women are sitting there in the Great Hut!" The men listened to him.

Nevertheless, they thought that they should be even more certain. They wanted to know whether the women were really only deceiving them with all that they had maintained about Tánuwa. /1342/ So they sent out first one and then another of the men who could run quickly, first the smaller ones, then the bigger ones. Each of them crept in on one side, whisked through quickly, and escaped on the other side. The women soon noticed this and reached for their bows and arrows. They sent an arrow after every man who ran through the hut and knocked over their masks. The arrow stuck fast and became a tail. The clumsy animals [which at that time were men] in particular were easy to hit with an arrow; that is why to this day they have a tail. The women threw a harpoon after the otter; that is why to this day it has a broad tail. They hit the fox with the Tákčta shrub (291)

291. This is Winter's bark, Drumys winteri (p. 28 /untranslated/).

which was lying there with all its leaves and little twigs. It stuck fast and so the fox's tail is bushy. Every man who ran through the Great Hut was driven off in this manner by the women.

Finally when there were no more swift-footed runners among the men, they stopped. Then they armed themselves with clubs and slings, harpoons and spears, bows and arrows, and set out against the Great Hut. The women were seized with terrible fear, but the men stormed ahead and there was a great battle. The men attacked the women furiously. Only two of them escaped unharmed; all the others were severely beaten and were changed into animals.

/1343 cont./

the women are fooling me and all the men!' These words startled Téšur$^{l}$kīpa. Filled with fear /1344/ she hastened to the Kina hut and told the women: 'Lēm must have learned something [about our deception]!' The women were seized with dread and noisily prepared a spirit performance [the Kalampfša mā́tu]. But the men looked out from under their covers and distinctly recognized their women who were painted and masked.

"Soon the great struggle began there in Yájaa$^{l}$kīpa. The men ousted the women from the Kina hut and in the process the women all turned into animals. The men threw a harpoon or a spear after each one. Thus one can still see that each animal has a tail (293). The man who was trying to hit čílawā́jakīpa no

293. In the first version of this myth (p. 1244) the same Maĕemikem said that the women had thrown various weapons after the fleeing men, and that these weapons are still recognizable today as tails.

longer had a spear handy, so he threw the next best thing after her, Winter's bark with its twigs and leaves, hence the bushy tail [of the fox]. The yékĕsĕlĕ́ĕ ran away without throwing off her mask and fled into the water; she is still wearing her mask (294).

294. This is the name for the squid (Loligo subulata). RD:646 probably also means this species, "a species of cuttle fish with a hard bill or horn" /cited in English/. The cephalopod referred to has a pair of wide, triangular fins on the pointed end of its elongated, cigar-shaped body. This formation is interpreted as a "mask" which it was supposed to have worn at that time.

The haĕ́ĕm behaved in exactly the same way: to this day one can recognize the mask that she had over her head at that time (295). Likewise the tĕpĕ́ĕ$^{l}$kīpa (296). The wémar$^{l}$kīpa

295. This is a trunkfish, about as long as a hand, with short spines all over its body.

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296. The formation of the snout of this fur seal, Arctocephalus australis (p. 41 /untranslated/, is interpreted as a mask that was formerly worn by the animal.

(Larus glaucodes) was hit by many arrows; this is shown by the many dark stripes and dots on the wing covers. The small whale akóla (Pseudorca crassidens) happened to be absent when the general fighting began. Later when he returned to this spot, he noticed that there were only a few people. He said: 'Something must have happened here. How I should have liked to help in this fight!' He seized a smoldering club -- it was still smoldering from the general conflagration -- and burned himself under his armpits and on other places of his body. These are the light spots that one can still see on him.

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"The mighty spears and harpoons that our men hurled at that time still lie near that lagoon in Yáalága; they are covered by tall grass. They attract the attention of everyone who comes there. Scattered among them are mammoth stones; these, too, our men hurled at the women at that time. In the general fray all the women who had performed the Kina were turned into animals, into land animals, birds, and marine animals. At the same time Lém left this earth. He took part in the Kina as a sort of servant to the women, for he had to provide them all with meat. Along with him his brother Akáinix and the latter's wife Hánuxa, as well as many others, ascended to the canopy of heaven. There they all became /1345/ stars. Since then the men rule in the Kina hut and no woman may approach unauthorized, much less enter the meeting."

These two versions of the old legend clearly set forth two main ideas. First, the Kina celebration was originally in the hands of the women. Second, the disclosure of the deception by the sun-man resulted in a general upheaval, as a result of which the men came into possession of this secret performance and all the persons who had taken part were transformed into animals, trees (pp. 79 / . 747), or stars. The legend explains that since then a new world order prevails and that at that time the world became populated with many kinds of animals. The story emphasizes the

X /1370 cont./
575 Asgpakíjaka, the performance of the southern sky. The
776 painting for this is elaborate. The mask and the body are rubbed
382 with white pigment. In addition the mask has seven black transverse lines as wide as a finger; the torso and arms have eight of these lines, and the legs, six. In each of the areas thus formed a red transverse line is added.

X-575 Halgwípisa-yéka, the performance of the mighty blue
776 whale (Baloenoptera intermedia). Powdered chalk mixed with
382 blubber is rubbed on the body of the performer in vertical lines,
825 the width of a finger, drawn close together and beginning at the peak of the mask. HD:269 writes "hálúípisa-iaka, a certain play in the ceema drama imitative of whales" /cited in English/.

Sauyímux-yéka, the performance of the short-beaked dolphin (Lagenorhynchus fitzroyi). The front part of the body and the center of the mask are covered with a vertical white stripe about 20 centimeters wide, on either side of which black color is applied.

Kíxinska-yéka, the performance of the gray gerfalcon (Circus cinereus). The performer paints his body and his mask white, and upon this background he distributes irregular black dots.

Akimagíja-yéka, the performance of the falcon (Ibycter australis). The dancer paints his body white and applies a red line the width of three fingers from the peak of the mask across his chest to the genitals and another line around his body at the height of his navel.

Kílagíla-yéka, the performance of the buzzard (Buteo *polionotus*). *Dry lime powder is first rubbed over the entire body,* and a few black dots are applied over it with the tip of the index finger.

Lírux-yéka, the performance of the gray-headed goose (Chloephaga poliocephala). The body of the performer from the armpits down is completely white, having been rubbed with powdered chalk. Above the armpits, and including the mask, it is rubbed with lime powder and is light red.

Kímga-yéka, the performance of the Magellan goose (Chloephaga picta). The entire body is painted red, and large white dots are painted on the chest (369).

369. The Molinas goose (Chloephaga hybrida

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/1370 cont./

/help goose/), which is related to the two species above, is not portrayed. The Yamana say that it was already present at the time of the general upheaval, as it is to this day.

Alakuĭ-yáka, the performance of the steamer duck (Tachyeres brachypterus). The entire body and the mask are painted with white pigment. The nose and mouth are painted on the mask with red pigment. A black line as wide as three fingers is painted in a shallow arc from one shoulder to the other across the chest. /1371/

Wémar-kipa-yáka, the performance of the small gull (Larus glaucodes). The performer paints his body and the mask white and applies short, fine, horizontal red lines all over it.

Tuxwiliwa-yáka, the performance of the diving petrel (Puffinus griseus /sooty shearwater/). It suffices to paint the entire body uniformly black, an exact imitation of the natural coloring of this bird.

Wilapilĕáka, the performance of the brown gull-teaser wilapála (Megalestris skua chilensis). To portray this spirit the men paint their bodies and masks white. They draw six evenly spaced rows of short red lines from the upper part to the ankles. The mask is painted differently. On a white background four red stripes two fingers wide are drawn from the peak of the mask to the lower edge, and white transverse lines the width of a thumb are put in each stripe at close intervals.

Gĕrápu-yáka, the performance of the white albatross (Diomedea exulans, Fig. 80). For the performance mask and body are painted with powdered chalk mixed with water; the former, in the region of the nose, has a vertical red line as long as a finger. SD:346 writes "gĕrápŭ čin, the initiatory rite of the ceesa drama" /cited in English/. -- The gĕrápu-lóima-yáka is peculiar. The men and the candidates paint their faces all white. A thin little stick which is slightly springy stretches from each corner of the mouth to the upper eyelid, so that the face is horribly distorted. They all squat close together at the low entrance, as though to barricade it. The ulwíala are in the center of the group. Each of them holds a bow and a quiver in his hand. These articles must be specially made, but are not carefully

X 575 776 302 825

/1371 cont./ worked because they are not meant for use in hunting. With his front teeth each man holds a yẽ́kuš, that is, an arrowhead or spear point; in his hands he holds an unfinished basket on which he is working. When the group is assembled in this manner, one of the men summons the women and children. They may come up to within a few steps and silently look over the group. Neither words nor looks are exchanged, the men steadfastly keeping their eyes on the ground. After a few minutes the women are sent back again. The Yamana of the south and west have the same performance, but with the following variation. The men and the candidates paint their faces white and draw a black line the width of a finger from the outer corner of each eye to the ears. They all have a yẽ́kuš between their teeth and in addition hold in their hands a drawn bow and an arrow which they aim at the women who are standing outside in front of the entrance. This pantomime also goes on in complete silence and lasts only a few minutes. No one was able to tell me its meaning.

Katámux-yā́ka, the performance of the sea dove (Daption capensis). The performer paints his body and mask completely white and then adds many black dots with his index finger. This is precisely the way this marine bird is marked.

/1372/ Taperṓla-yā́ka, the performance of the small diver (Podiceps calipareus). This bird, the size of a pigeon, has brownish-black feathers and a white tail. The person who portrays him as a spirit rubs a piece of dry charcoal all over his body, including his mask, and draws a white line, the width of a hand, from the navel to the genitals.

Yẽ́lex-yā́ka, the performance of the black cormorant (Phalacrocorax atriceps). The performer wears no mask. He rubs charcoal dust mixed with a little blubber all over his body. He paints his chest, the hairy part of his head, and his cheeks white and holds his arms as though he were supporting a mask. According to BD:274, hauwur$^{x}$ means "the black shag" /cited in English/ and this performance. Compare Figure 58 on page 233.

Wā́sénim-yā́ka, the performance of the hooded cormorant (Phalacrocorax gaimardi). The person who portrays this spirit wears a mask that is painted white. He rubs his body with dry charcoal dust and draws a very wide white stripe from his neck to his genitals.

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/1372 cont./

Uŝwilĕr-yáka, the performance of the oyster catcher (Haematopus ater). A red line, the width of two fingers, runs from the peak of the mask down the center. The whole body is white, with a black arc the width of a hand running across the chest from one shoulder to the other. BD:117 also mentions this performance. Compare Figure 76 on page 385.

Šŭrša-yáka, the performance of the spectacled penguin (Spheniscus magellanicus). The performer paints his chest and belly white, the rest of his body, black. There is a wide black arc above each of the eye-holes of the white mask. BD:160 gives suŝa-lama.

Hĕjmus-yáka, the performance of the robalo (Eleginus maclovinus). A few vertical white lines from the neck over the chest and belly, as well as a few vertical black lines beginning at the armpits, suffice to portray this spirit. BD:261 also mentions haimuŝ-yaka.

Sŭna-yáka, the performance of the porcupine fish. On the uniformly white mask a red transverse line, the width of a finger, is painted at the level of the mouth. Many red semicircles are placed close together all over the body of the performer to represent fish scales. This design is very effective (310).

> 310. It is well known that, according to the legend, the child whose father was a sea lion and whose mother was the sister of the Yoalox brothers turned into this fish (p. 1149).

Ilĕŝĕi-yáka, the performance of the herring (Clupea pectinata). The mask and the entire body are painted uniformly white. On either side of the body a black line as wide as a hand runs from the armpits to the ankles.

Imakaj-yáka, the performance of the sea trout (Atherinichthys). The dancer draws many vertical white lines as wide as a finger and as long as a thumb irregularly all over his body and his mask.

Kalampáŝa-yáka, the performance of the fish Kalampáŝa. This fish has a broad head and its body tapers evenly from the head to the tail fin. The performer characterizes this spirit by means of small red semicircles over his entire body which he first painted white. His white mask /1373/ has a red transverse line, the width

/1373 cont./

of three fingers, in the region of the mouth. Now and then this spirit orders the men either to step out of the Great Hut in single file, or, in the so-called Kalampáša-mátu, as individuals, to see how the women are conducting themselves in their dwellings. BD:178 also lists kólapóša-iaka.

Jepílu'-yáka, the performance of the little redfish. The performer must paint a great number of fine, vertical, finger-length red lines close together and on top of one another all over his body. The mask is white.

Hikuškalíla-yáka, the performance of the jellyfish (Medusa). This also requires fine, vertical red lines about three centimeters long all over the body and the mask, but not in as great a number as in the preceding performance.

Húka-yáka, the performance of the small cuttlefish (octopus). The person who represents this spirit, sometimes also called Čínilu, rubs dry ímí powder on his body and hangs a square piece of leather similarly colored loosely over his head in place of the pointed mask.

Yéšélšéf-yáka, the performance of the calamary (Loligo subulata). The dancer smears his whole body and the mask uniformly red. It is well known that Yéšélšéfkipa escaped when the men stormed the Kina hut. The painting just described is like the one that she wore at that time and which she still displays on her diminutive figure (p. 1247).

Kínajuf-yáka, the performance of the bluebottle fly. The person who presents this spirit to the women paints his body and mask black and over this irregularly distributes many white dots with his index finger. According to BD:165, kínajus also means wasp and bee.

In the east the so-called wešáka-yáka was performed. Several men step out of the Kina hut as a group without any kind of painting. Each one carries a stick that is pointed at the lower end and a meter long. At some distance from the Great Hut the men move close together, form a circle, and drive the stick into the ground several times. They poke around like this for a few minutes without looking up and without saying a word. Then they silently go back again. No one could tell me the meaning of this performance. BD:618 gives wéjgara-gámata, "to dig, burrow" /cited in English/.

/1373 com./

X 515 S35 The Hituku performance has historical value, so to speak. While the men are preparing for it, the leader gives a signal and there begin an unvarying, constantly repeated hém, hém... on the same pitch and with sharp emphasis. The force and tempo of this call slowly increases in order to attract the attention of the women in the camp. Meanwhile the participants paint their [302] bodies white. A red arc as wide as a finger is drawn across the forehead, with its ends pointing downward. Then, shouting loudly, the men arrange themselves one behind the other. They squat down so far that they support themselves with both fists and their buttocks almost touch the ground. They can move forward only in short steps. When the first men in this column are just visible, a few older /1374/ women hasten to the field and await the men. The latter keep their squatting position, but form a closed circle. The women approach and walk along the outside of the circle. They gently slap each man with a piece of leather or with the hand, and the man immediately falls over as though he had been killed. The women hastily depart. Not until after about ten minutes, during which no one in the camp stirs, the men cautiously get up and, deeply bent over and one behind the other, go back to the Great Hut without a sound. They quietly wash off their painting and in an undertone converse very gaily, for, after all, they have not been killed and have not been [75 25] murdered by the women. Hituku is the spirit of the fur seal, tépéya (Arctocephalus australis). At the time of the great struggle in Téqeldje he moved in the same clumsy way he does today, and many women fell upon him in order to kill him. That is exactly what happens now in this performance (311).

[11] 311. This scene is almost exactly like the Nukan scene in the Kinkeiem of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 397). BD:202 also speaks of this performance "before the women and children as spectators" /cited in English/.

X 515 All the plays listed here, which I experienced personally, TH do not exhaust the long list. BD mentions many additional ones. 525 For example, BD:170, kilégwiska, the performance of the sea

/1374 cont./
gull kiwáya (Larus dominicanus). BD:413, tháalaisha, the performance of the loud tikála (Larus heilcheri /a gull/). BD:112, chéyaiaka, the performance of the whale ólliyo (Pseudorca crassidens). finally. BD:283, haiyaiya, BD:277, lamthaiaka, the performance of the whale, BD:278, laiahlíya, and BD:267, ghamna, or "thálhwa's son, one of opening scenes and characters in the keena drama" /cited in English/. BD also mentions a few more performances. In any case, see the explanations of hlyi in BD:212.

In conclusion the so-called kina-chiyuwíya, the death rite, should be specifically mentioned. Now and then it happens that in the course of this men's festival one of the participants or one of their relatives dies. Then one evening the participants assembled in the Great Hut put on an actual chiyuwíya for only themselves. The men adorn themselves with the body painting customary for this occasion (p. 1061), depending on the degree of their relationship to the deceased. This is not enough, however. An influential yéhamuf appoints a man, preferably the leader, to paint himself in a special way. In March, 1882, Maiómiburu, who was then the leader of the Kina, volunteered to do this himself. The entire body is painted white and over this are painted four black stripes the width of a hand, beginning in the corner of each collar bone and in each armpit and extending to the knee. These stripes, but narrower, are continued on the white mask up to its point. The performer dances out of the Great Hut just like any one of the many other "spirits" and moves back and forth several times in the dance course. The people in the camp immediately recognize him /1375/ by his painting. On the evening of a chiyuwíya the men remain very quiet and appear to be cut out of sincere sympathy. The Yamana have no proper name for the spirit portrayed in this manner. It would not be correct to call him the yéhamuf of the deceased person who is being mourned, the whole performance is meant to be reminiscent of his departure and of the sorrowful participation of the survivors.

The Yamana emphatically assured me that there is no portrayal in the Kina of the spirits of those animals that were already living here as actual animals at the time of the great upheaval.

/1375 cont./
This applies to the raven vulture wēgwiyēu, the hawk yo'okaiēa, the gerfalcon kētēla, the common sea gull kiwēgu (312), and

312. BD:170, however, mentioned this spirit.

particularly the many small birds. The specific painting with which every spirit appears adds a certain variety to the course of the Kina festival, but after a time the monotonous dance movements become noticeably boring to the women and also somewhat to the men. The arbitrary decision of the leader and the general mood of the participants determine the number of spirits and the sequence of their appearance on each evening. In view of this, one Kina festival is sometimes very different from another, and this provides a change.

### d. End of the Festival

Obviously it is the environment, especially the urgency of matters of subsistence, which forces the participants to terminate a Kina festival. Here, too, the decisive factor is that same play of forces that leads to the termination of a youth initiation (p. 892.). The most important of these would be lack of food, flooding of the campsite, insufficient firewood, the illness of a number of persons, or a death.

Even if these unforeseen and yet decisive circumstances were not taken into account, at practically every Kina the attention of the dancers and spectators begins to lag after only a few days. The men must stimulate and renew the interest of all the participants in the affair. If all their efforts fail, boredom is clearly written on the faces of all those present. From the start, the women do not welcome the Kina. For their part they certainly make no effort to prolong it. For a time, however, the men feel quite content in their closed group, especially if there are many of them and the individual members take an active part. Thus they are unaware of the threatening and unavoidable monotony of each passing day. The Yamana are much too restless by nature to /1376/ bear unvarying monotony for very long, and the many spirit appearances certainly do not offer enough

/1421 cont./

X156 T89 B24 day after tomorrow] favorable weather will set in!" The children, above all, become quiet, and the old people are full of expectation. Sure enough, on the day announced the snowstorm at least abates and perhaps there is even a cloudless sky. /1422/ Once on a rainy day I also heard: "Tomorrow uxápa [the constellation Orion, p. 1276 /unranslated/] will appear!" On another winter's day a yékamuš assured the people: "Tomorrow we shall see Yoálox-čhmuxípa again and that will usher in good weather!" Sure enough, each time the prognostication was fulfilled. The question is whether those yékamuš were guided by knowledge derived from experience and careful observation? I cannot decide. In any case, the people ascribe the change of weather to the superior knowledge and ability of the yékamuš. As is known, a number of medicine men gather together in the kíjma-yékamuš. Since they jointly exert their influence on the forces of nature, the people say that favorable weather prevails for the duration of that affair.

X156 T89 B25 When there are persistent storms, the people are hindered in their freedom of movement and sometimes suffer great privation. Then the yékamuš must save them by furnishing food. He lies down to sleep, starts his čówčmi song, and thus invokes the čówčmi spirit. The latter have whole swarms of herring with them and these, of course, are accompanied by many other species of animals. They soon cover the beach near the people in droves. In the same way the čówčmi spirit drive many round crabs (Lithodes antarctica, Fig. 13 /in unranslated portion/) up on the beach or cause many birds to light on nearby stones. The yékamuš also uses another helper. In his dream he calls an olóula to him and describes to it the threatening situation of his family group. Thus prevailed upon, the olóula returns to its region, and from there on the next day it leads a whale with its accompanying animals to the stricken group (p. 1389 /unranslated/). As soon as the people see the many animals, they rejoice and thank their yékamuš for this rescue; he finally releases the helpful spirit with his čówčmi song, and they once more retide far out on the high seas. If the men plan a joint hunting expedition the following day, the yékamuš assemble the day before and start the čówčmi song. This is supposed to assure them the help of these spirits on the following day and at the same time guarantee the

1: Gamble--1990 E-6 (1919-1964) 1997 5086 Taigan 5086

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humen success. While they sing, they move into the distance, stretch out both arms, open their hands and clench the air, draw their closed hands back to their bodies, open them, press them against the chest and, with gentle pressure, down to their knees. As they do so they repeat a skill a several times. With these movements they wish to invoke the spirit of the game animals, attract them, and gain power over them. The next day the men set out full of confidence.

X756 T87

The Tamans believe that their medicine men can see into the future and that they have infallible prescience. The yékamuf themselves are especially convinced of this and give advance warnings to individuals. They also may admonish their whole group to be careful or may announce the prospect of a favorable event. On March 22, 1955, I was standing with several people when Malemiken said very distinctly: "Outside I see a long /1433/ canoe approaching with swallows [Phalacrocorax olivaceus]!" Sure enough, the following day the people sighted unusually dense flocks of these birds which seldom come a channel in such numbers. On another occasion Emilia stared out at the ocean like a seaman and cried: "The sea is getting white, mountains of waves are forming and a great deal of foam is gathering!" Her words sounded strange to us, since the surface of the water was entirely smooth. The next morning, however, bad weather came up from the east, causing high waves, and we remembered that Emilia had announced this change at noon of the preceding day. A few people said in wonder: "How remarkable it is that our yékamuf know so many things in advance!"

X756 T55

If the population in general is struck by illness, either because they have eaten spoiled meat or, more recently, because of an epidemic brought by Europeans -- something that the yékamuf occasionally foresee in a dream -- the medicine men feel obliged to help immediately. They are told in a dream at what place all the people must assemble. They announce the place and without delay call the people together to a mukkpúlim. First, a big fire is kindled. All the adults and children stand around it. As soon as this circle begins to move, everybody raises his fists, wails in hollow sounds, and interjects frequent loud cries of ŋ ŋ. Finally they seize glowing sticks of wood and toss them high in the

/1434 cont./

hair from his head, a bit of fingernail, or any insignificant thing. He takes it in his hands, warms fondly at it for some time, kneads it and presses it, pulls it and shapes it, until it has taken on the shape of the person who is to be harmed. He can observe this transformation in his awake vision. Then he hides this little piece in an insignificant little bag called *vêtur*[E] (334). Now the *ôkyôf*

> 334. I cannot decide whether it is this that SD:270 designates as "*komulôf*, a skin bag in which *yêkamuf* kept their odds and ends" /cited in English/. Hyades (Q:207 gives this word as "bag of the healer" /translated from French/.

of that person is locked up as in a prison, and he cannot get out by himself. For his *vêtur*[E] the *yêkamuf* prefers to use the conical cocoon, about three centimeters long, of the Thanatopsyche chiloensis (Bombycidae), an insignificant-looking Fuegian butterfly whose caterpillar usually hangs its cocoon on Berberis bushes. From time to time the *yêkamuf* takes the little piece out of his *vêtur*[E], squeezes it and kneads it, crushes it and presses it, pulls and yanks it, drops it on the ground and stamps on it with his feet, tosses it high into the air and catches it again convulsively in his hands, and worries it in every conceivable fashion with emphatic and limitless malevolence. Finally the person from whom this cruel atrocity was taken feels somewhat weak and unwell. As time goes on his feeling of sickness increases more and more, for he lacks his *ôkyôf* which the *yêkamuf* retains in his *vêtur*[E] and constantly torments. Since the body of the person must do without his *ôkyôf* for such a long time, he uses up his vitality and grows progressively weaker. If a stronger *yêkamuf* does not see the situation in his dream and, aware of the threatened peril of that person, order a halt, the person is doomed. If he is stronger than the other *yêkamuf*, he must immediately free the person's *ôkyôf* from the *vêtur*[E] and lead it back to its body. As a rule the sufferer does not realize soon enough that a *yêkamuf* has robbed him of his *ôkyôf*. It is only after much blood has flowed from his nose and mouth and he is very weak that a capable *yêkamuf* will reveal the situation and offer to make the urgently necessary rescue. He does

/1434 cont./

5. Botany and Zoology

B4 Only a few species of higher plants are represented in Yamana country, but there are considerably more kinds of higher animals. Our Fuegians have an accurate knowledge of the one as well as the other. This means, first of all, that they know the special characteristics of each plant that is of any use in the household, and they have selected it from those available to them on the basis of its suitability for their purposes. I pointed this out most emphatically when I described their individual implements and weapons. The vegetable kingdom does not offer the Yamana any food worth mentioning, but the extremely little that it does offer in luxuries (p.299) -- if one may call it that -- is well known and utilized. One could hardly estimate the number of experiments and the long series of observations by former generations that must have been necessary before this knowledge became a universal possession of the entire tribe. It was then transmitted throughout the centuries to each subsequent generation.

•B5 The Yamana is vitally dependent every day upon the animal kingdom; to it alone he owes his subsistence. Everyone is therefore obliged to observe carefully the habits and movements of the species useful to him. If the Yamana gives a proper name to every larger plant family, this is all the more true of every animal species, with the exception of insignificant lower animals that are in no way useful to him. He has originated and developed the various hunting methods on the basis of his knowledge of the habits of each species (p.215). His booty by no means has equal value; he distinguishes the various species, and even different parts of the body of the same species, according to the tastiness of the meat, the greater or lesser usefulness of bones and feathers, fur and skin, even sections of gut, according to their durability and efficiency. All this is based on rich practical knowledge. The Yamana can creep up on their game animals with amazing skill, and they imitate the movements of certain species in some of their games. Here, too, one can see how carefully /1455/ our Fuegians observe the animal realm surrounding them. On this, in turn, they base their rules for the hunt, for the gathering

/1455 cont./

●825 of eggs and shellfish. With clever calculation they observe a closed season for certain species, and they know the time of year when it is not advisable to eat certain species. Our Indians very much enjoy watching the harmless play of animal parents with their young; /Fig. 100 appears here/ they marvel at the wonderfully majestic flight of the mighty stormy petrel and thoroughly enjoy the clumsy movements of penguins (Fig. 100) and cormorants; the graceful agility of the pinnipeds in the water amazes them no less than the awkward behavior of these animals on land (Fig. 95) makes them laugh. The hunter approaches a certain species with extreme caution or with the assurance of victory, all depending on its nature, physical strength, and mobility. From the unmatched character delineations in many of the myths one sees how well the hunter is acquainted with all the characteristics of the most common animals. From early youth, through frequent play with young animals and daily observation, the Fuegian acquires his rich knowledge of the peculiarities of the not inconsiderable number of animal species that, like he himself, inhabit the storm-tossed Cape and provide a livelihood for him and his family.

Fig. 100. Pygoscelis adeliae.

Our Indians cannot be blamed for giving a superstitious interpretation to much of the strange behavior of their animals (p.1189). After all, they want to explain this behavior, and their judgment is usually based on what happens under similar circumstances among people. Thus they say, to mention still another

/1455 cont./
example: If a dog groans in the family hut, as though in despair, this is a sign of mourning, for it knows that a close relative of its master has just died or will soon die.

/1456/ 6. Medicine

In the following pages the work of the yêkamuš, which is based on suggestion or on peculiar visions of spirits, will, of course, not be discussed. Similarly, the infections and epidemics that have been imported by Europeans (p. 340 /untranslated/) will not be considered. The Yamana are a healthy, resistant people, even though their physique may have little or no appeal for Europeans (p. 214 /untranslated/). They are as unfamiliar with transgressions against sexual morality as they are with alcohol. Although once or twice a year they overload their stomachs when a whale has been stranded (p.313 ), they must now and then suffer a temporary food shortage (p.304 ). They lack many things that could make their lives more agreeable (p.298 ). The fact that many people have reached a considerable age is due to their mode of life and the atmospheric conditions of their country, but it would be arbitrary to mention age in figures. The infirmities of age, which undoubtedly occurred, seldom annoyed a person seriously. Without protracted suffering, most of them died an almost sudden, gentle death from actual old age (380). Fitz-Roy (a):186 found it

380. Hyades (f):573 also declares: "The Fuegians can reach an advanced age (70 to 80 years). They then show external signs of decrepitude, but their physical capabilities are, for the most part, retained. The infirmities of advanced age are almost exclusively chronic rheumatic ailments" /translated from French/.

surprising that he met neither men nor women "who appeared to be very old -- certainly no one was decrepit" /cited in English/.